2; Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX 10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Cape Hottentot

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoã, his subordinate king Gonnomoã, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoã.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoã our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoã, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoã left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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Korana

175 619 161 439 The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

175 619 167 797 In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of [648] the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

175 619 797 Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantze*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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175 619 648 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.

But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 619 648 797 167 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

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[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; "now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, "and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[30]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm "Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[30]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[31] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm "Nooitgedacht" on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near "a large Korana station" . . and he received "the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[32] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that "it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa" and "soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds "a good many Koranas" still at the Saltpan.[33]

[30] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[30] B. C. 215.
[31] B. C. 289.
[32] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[33] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

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128 veniently expressed in English. It will therefore be seen that the present collection gives ample material, not merely to the historian and to the ethnographer, but also to the student of the language.

METHOD

126 Believing as I do in carefully sifting any evidence available, especially from these very uncultured people, and having the opportunity to do so, I was able to check the collection of both texts and other material from a number of informants. For the texts particularly, I first got *Tabab* to tell his story. As he got very excited in the process of reviving the half-faded memories of his young days, I got a younger man, Thomas Links, *Tsi:ta* by his Korana name, to repeat verbatim *Tabab's* version very slowly, to give me an opportunity of recording *Tabab's* exact words. To increase the certainty, *!Kutsi* translated into English. That was in the afternoon of December 6th. On the morning of December 7th, I read over to *!Kutsi*, while alone with him, what I had written down. In the afternoon of the 8th, I again read, this time before all my informants, the same texts, sentence by sentence, enquiring with *!anusa*, " correct," after each, the question being addressed to each of the four old men in turn. And only once I had the answer *!anutama*, " not correct." This method I still used during my second trip. For the text of the */habab* ceremony, *Iis* gave me the words, constantly referring for her information to the older *Meis*, and being also assisted by *Kheis*. She gave me the English on the first day and the corresponding Korana on the next.

I have little doubt that, by this system of cross-checking, I have secured a perfectly faithful rendering of the text, which I have further given without the least alteration, just as I heard it spoken. I have introduced no emendations, and I have not attempted, where the Korana seemed to violate the rules of strict grammar, to alter the words of my informants accordingly. The Korana of the texts is, in the strictest sense of the term, " as it is spoken " among the *//are mŋ// ais* at Bloemhof.

(*A*). *HISTORICAL TEXTS*

173 (i) The traditional history of the Korana from *!Kutsi*.

He explained that he got his information from his mother, who was a Korana and was very fond of telling him about their old customs and traditions.

173 The Korana people say *huri xu da na xũ !kũ* " we come from the
167 sea, migrating in search of better pasture." *xũ* means " to trek in order

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */kaimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *≠ǂkûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of */Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !korana*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/hei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*≠ǂKaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geida khuekwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ha-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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(iii) From *Matiti* and *Teteb*.

hurib xu inkje doe o, inkje ≠nu: !garib !kũ ha o, inkje hei !horakwa ho:, inkje !ari !kũ a kwa, ikje ≠kaop !na māsi !kwaxa, ikje ||na:ba xu Taungs !na ha:, ina ||na:ba Brikwa ||gobe:, ikje ||na:ba xu ||kāugu |kwai, ikje ||na:ba Brikwa !han ||heie, ikje Taub ||na:ba !kame, ikje ||na:ba xu Mamusaba !koa doe, ikukje ||na:ba xu |oro khwekwa |hei !garib !koa doe.

ikje haku kje ha, !kaudi he:ba mũe |hei !garib !na, ikje ≠an ≠ansie, Mamusaba !koa, ikje Kurutani (Mooifontein) ||na:ba doe ha, ≠untup, Teteb di ||nausab, ||omkje ||na:ba.

ikje sa:ku ||naba ho: ha oubi, ikje sa:ku !hanne, ikje daob ||kāu ||koba, ikje sa:ku |kam |ko:diab !kamme, ikje |nei khweb Mamusaba !koa sĩe, ikje ||na:ba xu khwekwa ≠noa |kwae, iku haku ko o, he: sa:ku ha ha i a, ikje sa:ku ||kāugu khwekwa.

Translation :

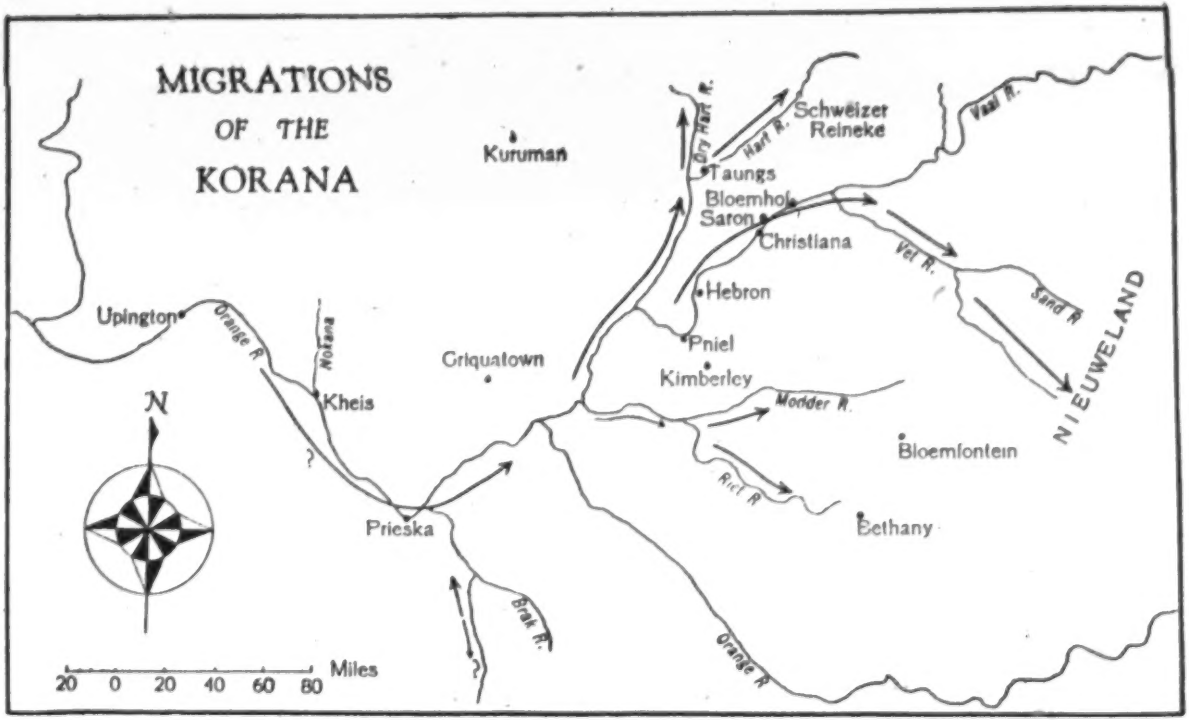
When they had trekked from the sea and when they had arrived at Orange River, they found the Great Korana there. Then they separated from them and came up to the Hart River. Then they went to Taungs. There the Brikwa attacked them. They fought together. There the Brikwa were destroyed and Tau was killed. From there they trekked to Mamusa and from there a few people trekked to the Vaal River.

When they came there, they saw here hippopotami in the Vaal River. They sent messages to Mamusa. Then they trekked to *Kurutani* (i.e. Mooifontein, a farm to the N.W. of Bloemhof). *≠Untup*, the ancestor of *Teteb*, slept there. There the Bushmen discovered the old man. He was surrounded by the Bushmen. He fought his way through. They killed his two daughters. Another man was sent to Mamusa and from there men assisted. They came. The Bushmen were still there. The Bushmen fought the men.

Note :

Matiti told the first four lines of the story, up to the second " Brikwa." Then the old man got tired and was replaced by *Teteb*.

It will be noticed that, in this version, *Tau* is actually killed by the Korana ; most probably the descendants of *Tau* are meant, as it is common practice among the Natives to speak thus.



This map illustrates only the general direction of the migrations. It is impossible to indicate the to and fro movements of the tribes, e.g. those of the Links between Saron and Nieuweland. It is noteworthy that the lines of migration follow the rivers, the Korana being a pastoral people.

[facing p. 162]

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